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Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-10 ISO-00 /015 R

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DRAFTED BY AF/S-LRMACFARLANE
APPROVED BY AF/S-LRMACFARLANE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 178060

LIMDIS LUXEMBOURG FOR ASST SEC MOOSE ISLAMABAD FOR NEWSOM

FOLLOWING REPEAT PARIS 22215 ACTION SECSTATE USUN NEW YORK
INFO LONDON BONN OTTAWA PRETORIA GABORONE MAPUTO DAR ES SALAAM
LUSAKA LAGOS KHARTOUM GENEVA JULY 13.

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 22215

LIMDIS

GENEVA FOR SECRETARY AND MOOSE

FROM AMBASSADOR MCHENRY

E.O. LL62: GDS
TAGS: PORG, PDEV, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: LAST STEP AND NEW BEGINNINGS
REF: PARIS 22201

L. THERE FOLLOWS A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE FINAL
DAYS OF NEGOTIATION IN LUANDA LEADING TO A
NAMIBIA AGREEMENT.
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2. JULY 11 SESSION: DISCUSSIONS WITH SWAPO BEGAN
MORNING JULY 11 WITH SENIOR MPLA FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF-
FICIAL PASCOAL LUVUALO, TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
MKAPA, AND ZAMBIAN PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER MARK CHONA
PRESENT. MOZAMBICAN AND BOTSWANAN REPS DID NOT
APPEAR.

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3. LUVUALO, IN A PREPARED STATEMENT, SAID MEETING WAS TAKING PLACE "UNDER VERY FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR SEEKING--WITH GOOD WILL AND THE COMBINED EFFORTS OF THE FIVE,... THE FRONT LINE, AND SWAPO--A JUST AND DEFINITIVE SOLUTION..." FRONT LINE AND PRESS THEN WITHDREW.

4. MCHENRY OPENED FIVE'S PRIVATE SESSION WITH SWAPO BY REITERATING OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT ONLY TWO ISSUES, WALVIS BAY AND LOCATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL TROOPS, REMAINED. FIVE THEN GAVE NUJOMA, WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY SWAPO NEGOTIATING TEAM AND ADDITIONAL REPS FROM WINDHOEK AND LUSAKA, COPY AND EXPLANATION OF OUR DRAFT WALVIS BAY RESOLUTION.

5. MCHENRY DESCRIBED UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO GET MOVEMENT FROM SAG ON TROOP LOCATION ISSUE AND EXPLAINED OUR PROPOSAL FOR AUGMENTATION OF THE UN FORCE AS A WAY OF PROVIDING ADDED REASSURANCE, IN-
INDICATING SECRETARY GENERAL'S AGREEMENT
TO THIS MEASURE. HE THEN URGED SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF FIVE'S PROPOSAL AS ONLY FAIR, PRACTICAL WAY OF BRINGING PEACE TO NAMIBIA.

6. NUJOMA BEGAN WITH AN EMOTIONAL STATEMENT AND CONFIDENTIAL

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RECITED FAMILIAR LITANY OF CHARGES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICANS AND AGAINST THE FIVE FOR ALLEGEDLY SUPPORTING THE SAG. HE HINTED THAT FIVE HAD GIVEN SECRET GUARANTEES TO THE SAG, A CHARGE MCHENRY FIRMLY DENIED.

7. AFTER A SHORT ADJOURNMENT, NUJOMA WENT OVER FIVE'S DRAFT WALVIS BAY RESOLUTION POINT BY POINT, DECLARING IT "UNACCEPTABLE" IN THE FORM WE HAD PRESENTED IT. AS EXPLAINED BY SWAPO UN OBSERVER GURIRAB, SWAPO DID NOT WANT THE ISSUE TAKEN AWAY FROM THE UN AND LEFT FOR FUTURE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SAG SINCE IT DID NOT FORESEE
THAT SOUTH AFRICA, GIVEN ITS POSITION, WOULD BE PREPARED TO GIVE UP WALVIS BAY WHATEVER THE VIEWS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. SWAPO THEN HANDED OVER TO THE FIVE A DRAFT "AMENDMENT" TO OUR PROPOSED RESOLUTION (SEPTEL) WHICH WAS, IN FACT, AN ALTERNATE RESOLUTION WHOSE TEXT HAD BEEN PREPARED IN ADVANCE OF THE MEETING.

8. SWAPO THEN ASKED FIVE TO CLARIFY ITS (SWAPO'S)

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"UNDERSTANDINGS" ON KEY ELEMENTS IN THE WESTERN PROPOSAL:

A) THAT THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE (SR) MUST

EXERCISE SUPERVISION AND CONTROL IN ACCORDANCE WITH RES. 385;

B) THAT THE SR WILL HAVE POWER TO APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE ALL ACTIONS BY THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL INCLUDING THOSE AFFECTING VOTER REGISTRATION, DELINEATION OF CONSTITUENCIES, DATES OF ELECTION, ETC.

C) THAT THE SR WILL HAVE FINAL SAY REGARDING USE OF THE POLICE;

D) THAT THERE WILL BE AN ADEQUATE NUMBER OF UNTAG PERSONNEL PRESENT TO CARRY OUT THE AGREEMENT.

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9. MCHENRY, IN LATER SESSION, TOLD SWAPO THAT THESE "UNDERSTANDINGS" APPEARED TO BE A FAIR INTERPRETATION OF OUR PROPOSAL, THAT THE FIVE WERE IN AGREEMENT, AND THAT THEY WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO SWAPO'S ISSUING A STATEMENT GIVING ITS INTERPRETATION.

10. FINAL POINT RAISED BY SWAPO IN MORNING SESSION CONCERNED LOCATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE. NUJOMA, WHO APPEARED UNFAMILIAR WITH SOME CENTRAL ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, STATED RESIDUAL FORCE SHOULD BE RESTRICTED TO EITHER OSHIVELLO OR GROOTFONTEIN BUT NOT BOTH. FURTHERMORE, HE INDICATED THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN WALVIS BAY SHOULD BE COUNTED AGAINST THE 1500-MAN CEILING. (THIS WAS, IN FACT, A CONTRADICTION BY NUJOMA OF AN EARLIER STATEMENT BY HIM THAT THE RESIDUAL FORCE COULD BE PLACED WHEREVER THE FIVE OR THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD DETERMINE.) THE FIVE THEN EXPLAINED AT LENGTH PROPOSAL'S PRECISE PROVISIONS ON THE RESIDUAL FORCE, AGAIN RELATED OUR UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO GET SAG TO ACCEPT ONE BASE ONLY, AND OUTLINED FEATURES OF UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS.

11. DURING AFTERNOON ADJOURNMENT, MCHENRY CONFERRED WITH MKAPA AND CHONA, WHO ALONG WITH ANGOLANS HAVE BEEN IN CONTINUAL CONTACT WITH SWAPO. MKAPA WARNED FIVE TO MOVE FAST LEST INTERNAL SWAPO TENSIONS ON SAG ACTIONS DIVERT SWAPO FROM NEGOTIATING TRACK. MKAPA ADVISED A REVISION OF FIVE'S DRAFT WALVIS BAY RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD REMOVE ANY SUGGESTION OF LEGALITIES; OMIT MENTION OF "NEGOTIATIONS", CONTEM-

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PLATE A MORE ACTIVE SECURITY COUNCIL ROLE, REPLACE UNACCEPTABLE SWAPO-PROPOSED "INTEGRAL-PART-OF-NAMIBIA" LANGUAGE WITH SOMETHING POSITIVE, AND DROP REFERENCE TO "ECONOMIC, ETHNIC, ETC." FACTORS. FIVE THEN CAUCUSED AND MADE REVISIONS IN DRAFT TAKING IN-TO ACCOUNT MKAPA'S SUGGESTIONS.

12. WHEN DISCUSSION WITH SWAPO RESUMED, MCHENRY GAVE A PAINSTAKING, POINT-BY-POINT EXPLANATION OF REVISED WESTERN DRAFT RESOLUTION (ANOTHER MKAPA SUGGESTION) WHICH, HE EMPHASIZED, HAD NOT YET BEEN REFERRED TO CAPITALS. THE FIVE THEN DISTRIBUTED COPIES TO SWAPO. A DESULTORY DISCUSSION WITH NUJOMA FOLLOWED DURING WHICH THE SWAPO PRESIDENT AT ONE POINT BRIEFLY SUGGESTED REOPENING SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL TO ACCOMMODATE SWAPO VIEWS.

13. AFTER AN ADJOURNMENT FOR SWAPO TO STUDY NEW WESTERN DRAFT, FINAL SESSION OF DAY BEGAN AT L0:30 PM. SWAPO PROPOSED CERTAIN AMENDMENTS (SENT SEPTEL AS A JOINT MESSAGE TO CAPITALS THROUGH FRENCH) AND THE FIVE INFORMED SWAPO THAT THEY WOULD REFER THEM TO THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS.

14. AN EXCHANGE WITH NUJOMA ON THE LOCATION OF AF-RICAN RESIDUAL TROOPS FOLLOWED. HE EVENTUALLY STA-TED THAT SWAPO WOULD "PREFER" ONE BASE. MCHENRY SUGGESTED THAT SINCE IT WAS UNLIKELY TO GET SAG AGREEMENT TO SUCH A CHANGE PERHAPS IT WOULD BE POS-SIBLE FOR SWAPO MERELY TO EXPRESS ITS PREFERENCE FOR ONE BASE. WHEN PRESSED FOR AN ANSWER ON THE AC-CEPTABILITY OF THIS FORMULA, NUJOMA REPLIED: "WE APPEAL TO YOU TO SEE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE IS CONFINED TO ONE BASE." HOWEVER, IT WAS CLEAR THAT NO CHANGE WOULD BE MADE IN THE TROOP LOCATION OPTION.

15. THE MEETING ENDED WITH A RECAPITULATION BY MCHENRY ON THE DAY'S DEVELOPMENTS:

A) OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT SWAPO HAD "EXPRESSED ITS PREFERENCE" ON THE BASING OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE AND HAD ASKED THE FIVE TO USE THEIR

INFLUENCE IN THAT MATTER;

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B) THAT SWAPO HAD EXPRESSED ITS VIEWS ON THE SR'S ROLE BUT THERE COULD BE NO CHANGE IN THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSAL (AS SWAPO INITIALLY SUGGESTED);

C) THAT THE FIVE WERE REFERRING PROPOSED LANGUAGE ON WALVIS BAY TO CAPITALS.

16. FOLLOWING RECEIPT OF INSTRUCTIONS LATE WEDNESDAY ON WALVIS BAY FROM RESPECTIVE CAPITALS, BROWN (UK) AND MCHENRY MET SEPARATELY WITH MKAPA AND CHONA TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR REINSERTION OF "AGREEMENT" LANGUAGE. BOTH STRONGLY URGED THAT THIS CHANGE NOT BE PROPOSED. FIVE THEN MET WITH SWAPO AT 6:30 PM, JULY 12. FIVE INFORMED SWAPO THAT THEY ACCEPTED SWAPO'S AMENDMENTS TO DRAFT WALVIS BAY RESOLUTION LANGUAGE, NUMOMA MADE FOLLOWING STATEMENT:

"SINCE YOUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE ACCEPTED OUR AMENDMENT ON YOUR DRAFT, WE ARE NOW AGREED TO PROCEED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN ORDER TO PROCESS THE DECOLONIZATION OF NAMIBIA FROM SOUTH AFRICAN COLONIALISM, OPPRESSION, AND EXPLOITATION." AFTER SOME ALTERATIONS WERE MADE TO THE PRESS STATEMENT (SEPTEL) AT SWAPO'S REQUEST, THE PRESS WAS SUMMONED AND THE ANGOLANS BROKE OUT CHAMPAGNE, A PRECIOUS COMMODITY IN LUANDA. TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA'S COMMENT: "I CAN'T BELIEVE IT."

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L7. NEXT STEPS: AT CLOSE OF DISCUSSION, FIVE SUGGESTED TO SWAPO EARLY APPEARANCE IN NEW YORK FOR SECURITY COUNCIL DISCUSSIONS. NUJOMA INDICATED THAT HE AND COLLEAGUES WOULD ATTEND OAU MEETING IN KHARTOUM AND WOULD HOPE TO BE IN NEW YORK AT LEAST BY JULY 26 WHILE CANADA STILL HAS SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENCY. MCHENRY URGED EARLIEST POSSIBLE MEETING, NOTING THAT WE DID NOT WISH TO RISK POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL COMPLICATING FACTORS. HE SUGGESTED THAT CANADIAN PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL WOULD SET TIME AFTER CONSULTING WITH MEMBERS AND PARTIES.
HARTMAN UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REPORTS, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE178060
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: LRMACFARLANE
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780289-0673
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780758/aaaabwzw.tel
Line Count: 269
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 4ee40773-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: 78 PARIS 22201
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2001760
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: LAST STEP AND NEW BEGINNINGS
TAGS: PORG, PDEV, WA
To: LUXEMBOURG ISLAMABAD
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/4ee40773-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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